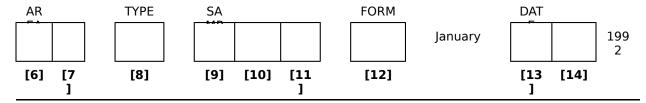
Interviews: 1502 Respondents
Date: January 17-21, 1992

48 Male 52 Female **[5]**

FINAL- January 22 11:00 a.m.

Study #4025 NBC News/WSJ January 1992



Hello, my name is ______ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is ______ and I'm calling from Hart-Breglio for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered	10 0	CONTINUE	[15]
No, not registered	-	TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT	
Not sure	-		

2a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

			NBC										
		12/91	<u>11/91</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>8/9</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>2/91</u>	12/9	
				<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>				<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	
Right direction	18	20	19	25	33	41	33	40	40	55	65	28	[16]
Wrong track	67	68	64	57	49	38	50	44	38	26	22	51	
Mixed (VOL)	11	9	13	13	14	15	12	13	17	15	9	15	
Not sure	4	3	4	5	4	6	5	3	5	4	4	6	

Study	/ 4025p	age	23					
10/9	9/90	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	1/9	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>
<u>0</u>		<u>0</u>				<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	
22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42
59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34
14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19
5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5

2b. Would you say that you and your family are better off or worse off than you were four years ago?

		<u>12/91</u>	10/91	
Better off	39	42	40	[17
]
Worse off	40	39	37	
About the same	20	17	22	
(VOL)				
Not sure	1	2	1	

3. Do you feel confident or not confident that life for our children's generation will be better than it has been for us?

Confident	25	[18]
Not confident	67	
Not sure	8	

4. I'm going to read you the names of several people who are active in politics. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. (READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

intrenew.	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewha t <u>Positive</u>	Neu - <u>tral</u>	Somewha t <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negativ</u> <u>e</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not</u> <u>Sure</u>	
George Bush						_	[19]
January 1992	16	33	17	18	15	1	
December 1991	19	35	13	19	13	1	
October 1991	27	35	15	12	10	1	
June 1991	38	33	10	11	7	-	
May 1991	42	35	10	8	4	1	
March 1991	50	30	9	6	4	1	
October 1990	20	36	17	15	11	1	
July 1990	26	42	16	10	5	1	
May 1990	28	40	15	11	5	1	
March 1990	32	37	15	10	5	1 2	
December 1989	28	33	21	11	5	2	
November 1989	24	38	17	11	8	2	
Paul Tsongas							[20]
January 1992	1	8	18	7	4	62	
December 1991	1	7	16	5	2	69	
October 1991	1	7	13	6	3	70	
Bob Kerrey							[21]
January 1992	2	12	20	7	2	57	
December 1991	1	11	16	5	2	65	
October 1991	1	8	14	5	3	69	
Jerry Brown							[22]
January 1992	3	15	21	18	15	28	
December 1991	3	15	22	16	12	32	
October 1991	3	14	21	15	13	34	
Patrick J. Buchanan							[23]
January 1992	4	17	22	14	12	31	

December 1991 Boris Yeltsin	3	Stud ¹ y ⁵ 4025	pa }& 23	8	9	47	[24]
January 1992	7	29	23	10	7	24	,
August 1991	21	29	20	9	3	18	
June 1991	8	25	19	4	1	42	
July 1990	2	10	14	5	3	66	
David Duke	_			J	J		
January 1992	2	4	7	10	64	13	[25]
December 1991	2	6	8	10	64	10	[23]
Q.4. (Cont'd)	-	J	Ü		0.		
	Very	Somewha	Neu	Somewha	Very	Don't	
	<u>Positive</u>	t <u>Positive</u>	- <u>tral</u>	t	<u>Negativ</u>	Know	
				<u>Negative</u>	<u>e</u>	Name/	
						<u>Not</u>	
						<u>Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton							[26]
January 1992	5	17	17	5	3	53	
December 1991	3	12	13	4	2	66	
October 1991	3	7	14	5	2	69	
Tom Harkin							[27]
January 1992	2	10	18	5	3	62	
December 1991	2	10	16	5	3	64	
October 1991	2	7	13	4	3	71	
Dan Quayle							[28]
January 1992	6	25	27	20	18	4	
December 1991	7	25	28	20	18	2	
October 1991	10	25	28	15	18	4	
June 1991	9	24	30	18	15	3	
May 1991	9	25	27	17	18	4	
March 1991	7	26	29	15	18	5	
October 1990	5	22	28	19	19	7	
July 1990	6	22	33	16	14	9	
May 1990	7	22	29	18	19	5	
March 1990	7	21	28	17	19	8	
November 1989	7	22	26	17	21	7	

5. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat	2	CONTINUE	[29]
Not strong Democrat	1		
Independent/lean Democrat Strictly Independent	9 1 5		
Independent/lean Republican	1	SKIP TO Q.7.	•
Not strong Republican	1 4		
Strong Republican	1 1		
OtherRefusedDon't know/nothing	2 - -	SKIP TO Q.8a.	•

6. Let me read you a list of people who stell good blag blag 292 Democratic nomination for president. If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? (READ LIST. ROTATE.)

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

Jerry Brown	19	IF "STRICTLY	[30 1
Bill Clinton	20	INDEPENDENT"	
Tom Harkin	5	IN Q.5,	
Bob Kerrey	7	CONTINUE.	
Paul Tsongas	7		
Someone else (VOL)	4	ALL OTHERS,	
None (VOL)	9	SKIP TO	
Not sure	29	Q.8a.	

(ASK OF ALL REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS HAQ.53)

7. If the 1992 Republican presidential primary election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, Patrick J. Buchanan, and David Duke, for whom would you vote--Bush, Buchanan, or Duke?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		12/91	
George Bush	71	75	[31]
Lean Bush	3	3	
Patrick J. Buchanan	11	8	
Lean Buchanan	2	1	
David Duke	2	3	
Lean Duke	1	1	
Neither (VOL)	3	2	
Not sure	7	7	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

8a. Looking ahead to the next election for president, George Bush will be running for reelection as the Republican candidate for president. Will you definitely vote for Bush in that election, probably vote for Bush, probably vote for the Democratic candidate, or definitely vote for the Democratic candidate?

Definitely vote for Bush	19 27	12/91 20 28	<u>7/91</u> 20 34	CONTINUE	[32]
Probably vote for the Democratic candidate	18	18	15	SKIP	
Definitely vote for the Democratic candidate	20	18	15	то	
Depends (VOL) Not sure	9 7	9 7	11 5	Q.9a.	

8b. Would you say that you support George Bush because he is the best candidate, or only because you do not like any of the Democratic candidates?

	Bush <u>Voter</u>	
	<u>s</u>	
George Bush is the best candidate	62	[33]
Do not like any of the Democratic candidates	24	
Some of both (VOL)	6	
Neither of these reasons (VOL)	6	
Not sure	2	

Now, let me ask you about some specific candidates.

(ASK EVERYONE.)

9a. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Bill Clinton, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Clinton?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

	10/91	
48	55	[34]
4	3	
32	20	
3	2	
3	2	
10	18	
	4	4 3 32 20

Study 4025page 23 9b. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Tom Harkin, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Harkin?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

	10/91	
53	58	[35]
4	3	
24	18	
2	2	
4	2	
13	17	
	4 24 2 4	4 3 24 18 2 2 4 2

(FORM A ONLY)

9c. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Jerry Brown, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Brown?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		<u>10/91</u>	
George Bush	52	61	[36]
Lean Bush	3	3	
Jerry Brown	27	21	
Lean Brown	3	2	
Neither (VOL)	5	2	
Not sure	10	11	

(FORM B ONLY)

9d. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Paul Tsongas ("SONG-gus"), the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		<u> 10/91</u>	
George Bush	54	55	[37]
Lean Bush	4	3	
Paul Tsongas	23	20	
Lean Tsongas	3	2	
Neither (VOL)	3	3	
Not sure	13	17	

(BOTH FORMS)

9e. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Bob Kerrey, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Kerrey?

(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean?

		<u>10/91</u>	
George Bush	51	56	[38]
Lean Bush	4	3	
Bob Kerrey	27	22	
Lean Kerrey	3	2	
Neither (VOL)	3	2	
Not sure	12	15	

Study 4025page 23 10a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

			NBC											
		<u>12/9</u>	11/9	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/91</u>	<u>8/91</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>			<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	
		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	1			<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	1	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	1	<u>0</u>	
Approve	53	52	51	63	64	70	67	76	74	81	85	77	57	[39
]
Disapprove	40	41	39	30	27	21	25	21	19	13	11	15	36	
Not sure	7	7	10	7	9	9	8	3	7	6	4	8	7	
					10/30	10/19	9/9	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	11/8	
					-	-	0	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	0	<u>9</u>	
					<u>31/90</u>	<u>21/90</u>								
					56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	
					32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	
					12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	

10b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

	12/91	10/91	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/9	<u>3/91</u>	12/9	10/9	9/9	7/90	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	11/8	9/8	
						1			<u>0</u>					<u>0</u>		<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	
Approve23	23	31	41	38	47	44	44	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61 [4	0]
Disapprove. 70	71	61	51	52	48	44	45	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24	
Not sure 7		8	8	10	5	12	11	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15	

10c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	12/9	10/9	9/91	7/91	6/91	5/91	3/91	12/9	10/9	9/90	7/90	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	11/8	9/8	
	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>						<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>				0	<u>0</u>	0	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	
Approve 6	68	70	71	74	74	76	83	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58	[41
3]
Disapprove. 3	26	23	23	21	21	18	11	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26	
0																		
Not sure 7	6	7	6	5	5	6	6	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16	

11a. Within the past twelve months President Bush has had two health-related problems. Do you think that these are isolated incidents that should not affect his exercise habits and work routine, or do you think they indicate that he should slow down his pace?

Isolated incidents that should not affect his exercise habits or work routine Incidents indicate that he should slow down his pace	8	[42]
Not sure	7	

11b. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "George Bush's recent illness in Japan has damaged his leadership image."

Yes, has damaged his leadership image.	2	[43]
	3	
No, has not damaged his leadership	7	
image	4	
Not sure	3	
Not sure	3	

11c. If George Bush is reelected as president in 1992, do you think his health will or will not be a problem?

Will be a problem	2	[44]
-------------------	---	------

Study 4025page 23	3
Will not be a problem	6
	9
Not sure	8

Study 4025page 23 11d. If anything were to happen to President Bush, would you feel comfortable or uncomfortable with Vice President Quayle being president?

		<u>5/91</u>	9/90	
Comfortable	30	34	22	[45]
Uncomfortable	62	56	69	
Some of both (VOL)	3	4	2	
Neither (VOL)	1	1	1	
Not sure	4	5	6	

12. Which one of the following six issues do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time? (READ CHOICES. ROTATE.)

A) Improving public education	1	[46]
B) Improving the economy	5 4	
	5	
C) Combating street crime and violence	7	
D) Protecting the environment	3	
E) Dealing with the unfair trade practices of foreign	4	
countries	_	
F) Reforming the health care system	1	
	2	
All equally (VOL)	1	
	3	
None of these (VOL)	1	
Not sure	-	

13. In the town or city where you live, would you say that crime and street violence is a critical problem, a major problem, a minor problem, or not really a problem?

Critical problem	1	[47]
Major problem	4 2	
	5	
Minor problem	3 5	
Not really a problem	2	
Not sure	- -	

(FORM A ONLY)

14a. Do you think America is in a state of decline, or do you feel that this is not the case?

		12/91	10/91	10/90*	
Is in a state of decline	63	63	53	31	[48]
Not in a state of decline	31	32	42	63	
Not sure	6	5	5	6	

^{*}The question read, "Do you think America is in a permanent state of decline?"

(FORM B ONLY)

14b. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me"?

		12/91	10/91	<u>10/90</u>	<u>10/23-</u> 26/88*	<u>10/14-</u> 16/88*	<u>9/88</u> *	<u>8/88</u>	
Agree	4	44	48	42	43	50	43	51	[49]
Disagree	5	49	46	54	48	42	46	39	
Not sure	6	7	6	4	9	8	11	10	

^{*} The question read, "Do you think the political and economic systems in this country are stacked against people like you, or don't you think so?"

(BOTH FORMS)

(BOTH FORMS) Study 4025page 23 15a. Looking ahead to this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

		12/91	10/91	10/90	11/89	
Reelect representative	4	35	40	39	41	[50]
	2					
Give new person a chance	4	52	48	48	36	
	8					
Not sure	1	13	12	13	23	
	0					

15b. Looking ahead to this year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

		12/91	10/91	7/91	10/9	9/90	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	1/90	11/8	9/89	<u>.</u>
					<u>0</u>						<u>9</u>		
Vote for the Republican	29	27	31	29	31	32	33	34	25	26	27	29	[51
candidate]
Vote for the Democratic	38	33	34	33	40	37	36	33	34	31	32	32	
candidate													
Depends (VOL)	18	26	20	24	12	14	17	22	29	33	28	24	
Neither (VOL)	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	
Not sure	14	13	14	13	14	16	12	10	10	8	12	14	

(FORM A ONLY)

15c. Would you prefer to have the Republicans control Congress in order to help President Bush get his programs passed, or would you prefer to have the Democrats control Congress in order to serve as a balance to President Bush and offer alternative policies?

Prefer Republican control	3	[52]
Prefer Democratic control	5	
Not sure	1	
	2	

(FORM B ONLY)

15d. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency, to prevent either one from going too far?

		10/91	<u> 10/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/86</u>	
Better if controlled by same political	2	24	23	24	28	[53]
party	8					
Better if controlled by different political	6	67	67	63	64	
parties	2					
Not sure	1	9	10	13	8	
	0					

16. Let me read you some specific issues till heroit spages to (READ ITEM), which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither? (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Democrati c	Republica n	<u>Both</u>	<u>Neith</u> <u>er</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>				
(FORM A ONLY)						[54]
Dealing with the economy						
January 1992*	28	23	33	12	4	
October 1991*	27	28	26	14	5	
October 1990	31	30	21	13	5	
November 1989	26	40	18	10	6	
						[55]
Protecting America's interests on trade						
issues				_	_	
January 1992	25	26	31	9	9	
October 1991*	22	36	21	10	11	
October 1990	22	35	24	9	10	
November 1989	20	36	23	9	12	
						[56]
(FORM B ONLY)						
Looking out for the middle class					_	
January 1992	37	15	27	16	5	
October 1991*	47	19	11	16	7	
October 1990	47	18	16	14	5	
November 1989	44	21	16	12	7	
Dealing with foreign policy				_	_	
January 1992	13	42	31	6	8	[57]

^{*} Asked of one-half the respondents.

Now, I'd like to ask you a few more questions about President Bush.

(BOTH FORMS)

17a. Do you think President Bush is or is not talking about issues that matter to people like you?

Bush is talking about issues that matter to people like	4	[58]
you	1	
Bush is <u>not</u> talking about issues that matter to people	5	
like you	5	
Not sure	4	

(FORM A ONLY)

17b. Let me read you a number of concerns some people have expressed about reelecting George Bush as president. For each item I mention, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement.

(READ EACH ITEM, AND THEN ASK:) Would you say that you agree or disagree with this statement about George Bush? **(ROTATE.)**

(**IF "AGREE" OR "DISAGREE," ASK:**) Would you say that you strongly (AGREE/DISAGREE) or just somewhat (AGREE/DISAGREE)?

	Strongl y <u>Agree</u>	Just Somewha t <u>Agree</u>	Just Somewh at <u>Disagree</u>	Strongl y <u>Disagre</u> <u>e</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
He has not done a good job of dealing with the economy	39	32	19	7	3	[59]
His policies favor the rich over the middle class	46	23	15	12	4	[60]
He has put too much emphasis on national defense	27	21	27	21	4	[61]
He has no plan to improve health care significantly	40	23	17	9	11	[62]
He reacts to problems, instead of anticipating them	35	31	17	8	9	[63]
He does not pay enough attention to domestic problems	50	24	15	8	3	[64]

(BOTH FORMS)

18. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view? (READ STATEMENTS.)

DO NOT ROTATE ORDER OF STATEMENTS.)

STATEMENT A: President Bush is making a good faith effort to deal with the country's economic and domestic problems, but the Democrats in Congress are playing politics by blocking his proposals and programs.

<u>OR</u>

STATEMENT B: President Bush has not provided leadership on such important issues as the economy and health care, and he is just blaming the Democrats in Congress as an excuse for not doing his job.

Statement A	3	[71]
	4	
Statement B	5	
	7	
Both equally (VOL)	3	
Neither (VOL)	3	
Not sure	3	

Study 4025page 23 **Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economy.**

19a. Over the <u>past year</u>, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

		12/91	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	12/9	10/9	9/9	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
			<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>9</u>	
Better	2	3	6	8	9	11	8	3	3	6	11	11	12	13	12	15	18	[72
]
Worse	78	74	67	57	64	54	64	73	72	57	37	36	30	37	29	34	23	
Worse Stayed about the	19	22	26	33	26	35	27	23	24	35	51	52	56	48	57	49	57	
same																		
Not sure	1	1	1	2	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	

19b. During the <u>next year</u>, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	12/91	10/9	9/91	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/91</u>	1/91	12/9	10/9	9/9	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
		<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>			<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	0	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	
Better 3	26	26	32	34	37	37	46	25	21	13	16	20	22	24	21	22	21	25	[73
3				٠.							40]
Worse 2	31	32	24	24	23	22	20	40	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
9 Characharach 3	20	27	20	27	27	20	27	20	20	20	26	40	47	40	4.4	4.4	20	43	
Stay about 3		37	39	37	37	38	21	28	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	
the same 4		_	_	_	2	2	7	7	4	_	0	7	_	_	_	_	7	^	
Not sure 4)	Э	2	5	3	3	/	/	4	Э	9	/	2	5	2	О	7	9	

(FORM A ONLY)

20a. Thinking about your personal financial situation in the past year, have you found it to be a period in which you have been <u>cutting down</u> **on purchases and other spending**, have you been <u>increasing</u> your purchases and other spending during the past year, or has there been little change over the past year?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	12/90 *	10/90 *	<u>9/90</u> *	7/90 *	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u> *	<u>1/90</u>	
Cutting down	5 6	55	49	57	55	49	41	41	45	41	[74]
Increasing Little change	9	10 34	11 40	10 33	7 38	10 41	14 44	15 43	13 42	16 42	
Not sure/refused	4 1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	

(FORM B ONLY)

(FORM B ONLY)Study 4025page 23
20b. Thinking again about your personal financial situation in the past year, have you found it to be a period in which you have been cutting down on savings and other investments, have you been increasing your savings and other investments during the past year, or has there been little change over the past year?

		<u>9/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	12/90 *	10/90 *	<u>9/90</u> *	7/90 *	<u>5/90</u>	3/90 *	<u>1/9</u> <u>0</u>	
Cutting down	4 0	33	28	36	28	28	25	24	25	29	[75 1
Increasing	2	20	25	17	15	17	21	23	20	23	•
Little change	4 0	45	47	46	55	54	53	52	54	47	
Not sure/refused	-	2	-	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	

^{*} In March, May, July, September, and October 1990, these questions were asked about changes "over the past three months."

(BOTH FORMS)

21. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)

	12/9 1	10/9 1	9/91	<u>7/91</u>	6/91	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	12/9 0	10/9 0	9/90	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/9</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/8</u> 9	
Inflation 8	8	$\frac{1}{10}$	10	9	9	9	10	$\frac{\circ}{11}$	13	13	8	9	13	12	12	[76
Unemployment 5	48	39	37	35	30	32	31	26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23	J
Interest rates 3	3	3	3	3	4	2	3	3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4	
The federal budget 1	19	24	23	27	34	29	32	35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32	
deficit 6 Federal taxes 4	4	7	6	7	7	6	6	7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8	
The U.S. trade deficit 7		8	8	10	11	11	10	11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15	
All equally important 8	9	8	10	6	3	10	6	6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4	
(VOL) None is important -	_	_	_	1	_	_	_	_	_	1	_	1	1	_	_	
(VOL)																
Not sure 1	1	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	

(FORM A ONLY)
Study 4025page 23
22. Now, let me read you these economic issues again. This time, please tell me whether you feel that, in the next twelve months, (READ FIRST ITEM ON LIST) will increase, decrease, or stay about the same. (RECORD BELOW AND REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM ON LIST.)

,	<u>Increas</u> <u>e</u>	<u>Decrease</u>	Stay About The Same	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Inflation					[77]
January 1992	38	11	48	3	
June 1991	48	11	39	2	
March 1991	36	19	42	3	
January 1990	47	7	43	3	
September 1989	43	8	45	4	
Unemployment					[78]
January 1992	58	18	22	2	
June 1991	42	24	33	1	
March 1991	46	28	23	3	
January 1990	45	14	38	3	
September 1989	34	20	42	4	
Interest rates					[79]
January 1992	33	29	34	4	
June 1991	37	22	37	3	
March 1991	31	32	32	5	
January 1990	34	31	31	4	
September 1989	43	21	30	6	
The federal budget deficit					[80]
January 1992	65	7	22	6	
June 1991	62	9	26	3	
March 1991	61	11	21	7	
January 1990	53	14	28	5	
September 1989	56	13	24	7	
Federal taxes					[81]
January 1992	47	12	37	4	
June 1991	62	3	33	2	
March 1991	59	7	30	4	
January 1990	47	6	43	4	
September 1989	56	7	33	4	
The U.S. trade deficit					[82]
January 1992	39	19	32	10	
June 1991	42	13	36	9	
March 1991	39	20	28	13	
January 1990	41	16	32	11	
September 1989	40	18	30	12	

(BOTH FORMS)

Study 4025page 23

23. Generally speaking, would you say your own family's financial situation is in good shape, only fair shape, or poor shape?

oriapo, oriij iaii	Citape	,, c. pc.	on apc	<i>,</i> .						
	•	12/91	10/91	9/91	<u>7/9</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	
Good shape	31	35	32	35	<u>1</u> 36	<u>1</u> 37	<u>1</u> 40	<u>1</u> 43	<u>0</u> 37	[83
Only fair shape	53	51	53	49	50	50	47	45	51	,
Poor shape	15	13	15	15	13	13	12	12	12	
Not sure	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	

24a. Do you think the U.S. is or is not currently in an economic recession?

Yes, is in a recession	9	12/91 88	<u>9/91</u> 75	12/90 65	CONTINUE	[84]
No, is not in a recession	7	9	18	27	SKIP TO	
Not sure	3	3	7	8	Q.25.	

24b. Has the recession directly affected you and your family, or have you not been affected by it?

(IF "AFFECTED," ASK:) Would you say it has had a big or a small effect on you and your family?

		12/91	9/91*	12/90 ¹	
YES, AFFECTED				55	
Big effect	27	26	26	NA	[85]
Small effect	34	33	32	NA	
Not sure	1	1	2	NA	
NO, NOT AFFECTED	38	40	39	45	
NOT SURE IF AFFECTED	-	-	1	NA	

24c. Do you think the recession is mild or severe?

		<u>12/91</u>	<u>9/91*</u>	12/90	
Mild	35	40	59	45	[86]
Severe	56	51	32	39	
In between (VOL)	8	8	7	9	
Not sure	1	1	2	7	
*All adults					

(AS	K	F١	/F	R١	'n	N	F.)
173	•	_	•		··	14	

(ASK EVERYONE.) Study 4025page 23
25. Who do you blame most for the country's economic problems? (READ LIST. ACCEPT ONLY ONE **RESPONSE. ROTATE.)**

-		12/91	
President Bush	19	20	[87
]
The Federal Reserve	4	4	
Democrats in Congress	12	22	
Banks	11	9	
The normal business	30	21	
cycle			
All equally (VOL)	13	12	
None of these (VOL)	6	7	
Not sure	5	5	

26. In the past six months, have you or has anyone in your household had their income reduced because of a reduction in hours worked, lost overtime, a salary cut, or lost business?

		<u>5/9</u> 1	<u>3/9</u> 1	
Yes, income reduced	3 9	30	29	[88]
No, income not reduced	5 9	68	68	
Not sure	2	2	3	

Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about taxes.

27a. Do you think Congress should or should not pass a tax cut as a way to help stimulate the U.S. economy?

Should pass a tax cut	57	<u>12/91</u> 57	<u>11/91</u> 55	<u>10/91</u> 55	[89
Should not pass a tax cut Not sure	34 9	31 12	30 15	32 13	J

(FORM B ONLY)

27b. Do you think Congress will pass a tax cut this year as a way to help stimulate the U.S. economy?

Will pass a tax cut	48	[90 1
Will not pass a tax cut	39	
Not sure	13	

(BOTH FORMS)

27c. If Congress does pass a tax cut this year, how much of a difference do you think it will make in improving the economy--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

A great deal	7	[91
Quite a bit	11	,
Just some	40	
Very little	38	
Not sure	4	

27d. If Congress decides to pass a tax bill this year, what do you think its main purpose should be? (READ CHOICES. ROTATE.)

A) Giving a tax cut to the middle class	38	[92]
B) Giving tax incentives to businesses that invest in new equipment C) Cutting the capital gains tax on the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate.	15 9	
OR D) Increasing taxes on upper income earners	28 4	

None of these (VOL)Study 4025page 23	
--------------------------------------	--

Study 4025page 23

27e.	Would you favor or oppose raising taxes on in	ndividuals with ar	n income over two	hundred thousand
	dollars a year?			

Favor	79	[93 1
Oppose	17	•
Not sure	4	

28a. Let me read you a number of tax proposals that are currently under consideration in Congress. Please tell me which of the following plans you favor the most. (READ ITEMS. ROTATE.)

TEMS. ROTATE.)	Q.28a		Q.28b	
	Favor the <u>Most</u>		Favor the <u>Least</u>	
A) Cutting the capital gains tax rate on the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate	10	[94 1	34	[95 1
B) Giving a tax credit to first-time home-buyers	21	•	8	•
C) Giving new tax breaks to commercial real estate developers OR	4		45	
D) Giving a tax cut to families with children	58		6	
All equally (VOL)	2		1	
None of these (VOL)	2		1	
Not sure	3		5	

- 28b. And which of these tax proposals would you favor the least? (READ REMAINING CHOICES ABOVE, AND RECORD UNDER Q.28b.)
- 29. As you may know, the Bush Administration has proposed cutting the tax rate on capital gains--that is, the tax on profits from investments such as the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate. Would you favor or oppose such a tax cut?

		3/91	1/90	
Favor	42	45	45	[96]
Oppose	48	45	47	
Not sure	10	10	8	

(FORM B ONLY)

(FORM B ONLY) Study 4025page 23 30. Let me read you a number of different actions the federal government could take to try to improve the economy. For each action I mention, please tell me how effective you think this would be in improving the economy--very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not effective at all. (READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE.)

	Very <u>Effectiv</u> <u>e</u>	Somewha t <u>Effective</u>	Not Very Effective	Not Effectiv e <u>At All</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Increasing spending on needed public works projects, such as highways, bridges, and airports						[97]
January 1992	21	53	17	8	1	
Cutting the capital gains tax rate on the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate						[98]
January 1992	13	41	27	14	5	
December 1991	17	40	18	16	9	
Expanding tax breaks for Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs)						[99]
January 1992	25	47	18	6	4	
Giving a tax break for businesses that invest in new equipment						[100]
January 1992	23	44	20	10	3	
Offering a two thousand dollar tax credit for first-time home buyers						[101]
January 1992	34	48	11	5	2	
Expanding tax breaks for commercial real estate developers						[102]
January 1992	7	33	30	26	4	
Providing a tax cut for families with children						[103]
January 1992	47	39	7	4	3	

(BOTH FORMS)

31. Which of the following tax proposals would you favor the most? (READ PROPOSALS. DO NOT ROTATE.)

Plan A, supported by President Bush and most Republicans in Congress, includes a middle class tax cut and a capital gains tax cut on the sale of stocks, bonds, and real estate.

Plan B, supported by many Democrats in Congress, includes a larger middle class tax cut, and a tax increase on upper income individuals if there is a capital gains tax cut.

Which tax proposal would you favor the most--Plan A or Plan B?

Plan A	27	[104 1
Plan BBoth equally (VOL)	66 1	•
Neither (VOL)	2	
Not sure	4	

32.	Would you favor or oppose a law limiting the transplace billity of corporate executive salaries that
	are more than 25 times higher than the salaries of their company's lowest-paid workers?

(**IF "OPPOSE," THEN ASK:**) Is this because you think the limit is too high, because it is too low, or because the government should not be involved in regulating how much executives are paid?

Favor	64			[105]
Oppose	27	{ Limit too high	1	
		{ Limit too low	1	
		{ Government should not be	3	
		involved	1	
			3	
Not sure	9			

33. Recently the Federal Reserve lowered interest rates. Would you say that your personal finances have been helped, have been hurt, or have not really been affected by lower interest rates?

Have been helped by lower interest rates	19	[106 1
Have been hurt by lower interest rates Have not really been affected by lower interest	23 56	•
rates Not sure	2	

(FORM A ONLY)

34a. There is much discussion as to the amount of money the government in Washington should spend for national defense and military purposes. How do you feel about this? Do you think we are spending too little, too much, or the right amount on defense?

		9/91	<u>3/91</u>	GALLUP All Adults <u>8/90</u>	GALLUP All Adults <u>1/90</u>	GALLUP All Adults <u>1983</u>	GALLUP All Adults <u>2/81</u>	
Spending too little	9	10	11	15	10	21	51	[107
Spending too much	4 9	42	37	41	50	37	15	J
Spending the right	3	41	48	40	35	36	22	
amount Not sure	5	7	4	4	5	6	12	

(BOTH FORMS)

34b. If Congress decides to reduce defense spending because of the recent changes in the former Soviet Union, which one of the following do you think would be the best use of the savings that would result? **(READ CHOICES. ROTATE.)**

A) Reduce taxes	14	12/91 11	10/91 14	[108
B) Increase spending on health and education	44	47	45	J
C) Reduce the federal budget deficit	34	33	35	
Some of each (VOL)	4	5	3	
Other/none of these (VOL)	-	1	1	
Should not reduce defense spending	1	1	1	
(VOL)				
Not sure	3	2	1	

(FORM B ONLY)

(FORM B ONLY) Study 4025page 23 35. In general, do you think the nation's banking system is or is not sound?

		<u>3/91</u>	
Banking system is sound	36	37	[109]
Banking system is <u>not</u> sound	58	56	
Not sure	6	7	

Getting to the end of our survey:

(BOTH FORMS)

36. In terms of helping the U.S. economy, do you think President Bush's recent trip to Japan was or was not successful?

Was successful	1	[110]
Was not successful	6	
Partial success (VOL)	3 1	
Not sure	0 9	

37a. Which one of the following statements do you think best describes America's economic position? (READ LIST SLOWLY, GIVING NUMBER WITH EACH CHOICE. RECORD BELOW.)

1)	America is the number-one economic power in the world today	17	<u>1/90</u> 15	[111]
2)	America is one of a few, about equal, major economic	37	37	
3)	powers America is a major economic power, but not one of the leaders	32	34	
4)	America is no longer a major economic power Not sure	11 3	11 3	

37b. In the year 2000, do you expect America's economic position to be higher, lower, or the same as it is now?

		1/90	
Higher	4	34	[112]
	3		
Lower	2	25	
	2		
The same as it is now	2	33	
	9		
Not sure	6	8	

37c. When it comes to economic power, which country is currently in a stronger position--the U.S. or Japan?

		<u>1/90</u>	
The U.S	2	20	[113]
	3		
Japan	7	73	
	2		
About equal (VOL)	2	3	
Not sure	3	4	

37d. Who do you think makes better quality cars--the United States or Japan--or are their cars about equal in quality?

		11/91	
United States makes better quality cars	2	28	[114]
	3		
Japan makes better quality cars	4	43	
	8		
Their cars are about equal in quality	2	24	

Study 4025page 23	5	
Neither makes quality cars (VOL)	1	1
Not sure	3	4

37e. Which of the following factors or ന്ദ്രംപ്പുട്ട എ	on me	wale a	nto voli	think is	most responsible for the
problems of the U.S. automobile industry? (RE	AD	CHC	OICES.	ROTATE)
A) Executives and managers of U.S. companies				3 5	[115]
B) Unfair Japanese trading practices					
C) The automobile workers union				_	
OR DNI Consumer and translations					
D) U.S. government regulations				3	
All equally (VOL) None of these (VOL) Not sure				1	
38a. Currently, there is a bill before Congress that the United States significantly over the next fiv	e ye	ears.	Would	you favoi	or oppose this bill?
Favor	7 5		NTINUE		[116]
Oppose	1 7	SK	IР ТО		
Not sure	8		89a. FO 10a. FO		
38b. Would you still favor this bill if it meant that t United States and that they would cost more?	here	e wou	ıld be fe	ewer Japa	anese cars available in the
Yes, would still favor thi	s bil	II	8 6	[117]	
No, would not still favor	this	s bill.	1		
Not sure			2 2		
(ASK EVERYONE) (FORM A ONLY) 39a. How concerned are you that the nuclear we	eapo	ons c	of the fo	ormer So	oviet Union are no longer
controlled by the leaders of one central gover somewhat concerned, or not that concerned?					
			12/91 *	<u>8/91</u> *	
Extremely concerned		2 7	27	35	[118]
Quite concerned		2	25	22	
Just somewhat concerned		6	31	27	
Not that concerned		1	15	14	
Not sure		5 1	2	2	
*Question was asked as follows: "How concerned are may no longer be controlled by the leaders of the ce					eapons of the Soviet Union
(FORM A ONLY) 39b. Do you think the United States can or cannot t agreements and treaties made between the United States can or cannot					
Can trust Yeltsin				[119]	l
Cannot trust Yeltsin			3 9		

1

Not sure

Study 4025page 23

(ASK	EVE	RYC	NE.)
(FOR	МВ	ONI	Y)

40a. Do you favor or oppose the United States providing 10 billion dollars in loan guarantees to Israel in order for them to refinance the resettlement of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union?

Favor	1	[120]
	8	
Oppose	7	
	3	
Not sure	9	

(FORM B ONLY)

(FORM B ONLY) Study 4025page 23 40b. In general, who do you think is currently the biggest obstacle to finding a peace settlement in the Arab-Israeli dispute--(READ CHOICES)? (ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)

		12/91	10/91	9/91	7/91	
The Arab nations	31	29	35	33	35	[121]
Israel	31	41	37	34	37	
Both equally (VOL)	22	15	14	16	11	
Neither (VOL)	2	2	1	1	2	
Not sure	14	13	13	16	15	

And on a totally different topic:

(FORM A ONLY)

41. During your lifetime, which of the following events made you most proud to be an American? (READ LIST. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

		3/91	
John F. Kennedy's leadership as president	1 3	12	[122]
Winning the war with Iraq	2	30	
Martin Luther King's leadership on civil rights	1	16	
Ronald Reagan's leadership as president Americans landing on the moon	5 3 1	4 15	
Winning World War II	6	14	
Winning the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los	5 2	2	
AngelesOther (VOL)	1	1	
None of these (VOL)	1	2	
Not sure	4	4	

(FORM B ONLY)

42. Do you think that Lee Harvey Oswald was part of a conspiracy to kill John Kennedy, or do you think Oswald acted alone?

		9/78 <u>NBC/AP</u>	
Oswald was part of a conspiracy	6 0	48	[123]
Oswald acted alone	1	29	
Not sure	1 4	23	

(BOTH FORMS)

43a. Suppose you were at a social occasion and you could only get food and drinks from one of the following tables:

Table A has white wine, soda, and brie ("BREE").

<u>Table B</u> has beer, soda, and pretzels.

Which table would you go to--Table A or Table B?

Table A	4	[124]
	7	
Table B	4	
	2	
Neither (VOL)	1	
	0	
Not sure	1	

Study 4025page 23 The Washington Redskins	4 0	[125]
OR The Buffalo Bills	3	
Don't care/neither (VOL)	2	
Not sure	2	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask yousalfewiguestions for statistical purposes only.

F1.	Did vou	i hannan ta	vote in	tha 1088	presidential	alaction?
ΓI.	DIG YOU	і парреп ц) vote iii	riie 1900	presidential	elections

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote Voted for George Bush	9 5 4	[126]
Voted for Michael Dukakis	3	
Other candidate (VOL) Too young (VOL)	1 2	
Not sure/refused	3	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal Somewhat liberal	7 1	[127]
Moderate	2	
Somewhat conservative	2	
Very conservative	8	
No thoughts	3	
Not sure	1	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Grade school	2 7 2 9	[128]
Some college, no degree	1	
Vocational training, 2-year college	6 1	
vocational training, 2-year conege	2	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree	2	
Company to the control of the control	1	
Some postgraduate work, no degree	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree	2	
Not sure	-	

F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24 25-29	8	[129]
25-29	0	
30-34	1	
25.20	2	
35-39	1	
40.44	1	
40-44	1	
45.40	1	
45-49	Ţ	
	0	
50-54	8	
55-59	6	

60-64Study.4025pag	e.23 7
65 and over	1
	6
Not sure/refused	1

F5. Do you own a domestic car or a foreign car? (IF "FOREIGN" OR "BOTH," ASK:) Do you own a Japanese car? (ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.)

Domestic car	7	[130]
	3	
Japanese car	2	>
	4	
Other foreign car	8	
Do not own a car (VOL)	7	
Not sure if own car/refused	-	

F6.	Study 4025page 23 What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN	N SPA	CE BELOW.)	
	OFFICE USE ONLY	_	1	
	OITICE OSE ONE	2		
	Professional/manager		[-0-]	
	White collar worker			
		7		
	Blue collar worker			
	_	3		
	Farmer			
	Student Homemaker			
	Retired			
	neureu	7		
	Unemployed	-		
	Never worked/not sure			
F7.	Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of Labor union member	f a lal	bor union?	
		1		
	Labor union household	1		
		0		
	Non-union household	7		
	Not sure	8 1		
	Not sure	1		
F8.	What is your marital statusare you single and never m widowed?	arried	d, married, separated, divorc	ed, or
	Single	1 9	[133]	
	Married	6 2		
	Separated	2		
	Divorced	8		
	Widowed	8		
	Not sure/refused	1		
F9.	In what religion were you brought up?			
	Protestant	6	[134]	
	Trocestant	ĭ	[254]	
	Catholic	2		
		9		
	Jewish	2		
	Other	5		
	None	2		
	Not sure/refused	1		
F10.	Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?			
	White	8	[135]	
	Black	1 2		
	Hispanic	6		
	Asian	ĺ		
	Other	1		
	Not sure/refused	-		
F11.	If you added together the yearly income of all the mem			
	home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, b \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, b \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than tha	etwee		

Less than \$10,000...... 6 **[136]**

Between \$10,00 % and \$202999 ge 23	1 5
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	1 8
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	1
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	8 1
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	2
More than \$75,000	6 1
Not sure/refused	0 5